

INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

VOL. III

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MARCH, 1938

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No. 2

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on

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EDITORIAL

NO FASCISM IN QUEBEC

Communism or Fascism! These are the present tactics of Moscow throughout the world, to represent everything that is opposed to Communism as bound up with Fascism. And since the human spirit loves liberty and naturally detests all constraint and all dictatorship, the tactics are apt. Even excellent people have allowed themselves to be caught, and through hatred of Fascism, contribute to the support of Communism, to which system they are nevertheless not favorable.

The Province of Quebec offers a recent instance of these tactics. The Canadian journals published in English have for some time spoken indignantly of "Fascist Quebec," of "the Fascist Corporative State" which the religious and civil authorities wish to establish, and soon. Now neither the religious and civil authorities of the Province of Quebec, nor the mass of French Canadians are sympathetic to Fascism. No serious person among us has dreamed of a Fascist State. No one wishes it.

The great majority of the population is, however, opposed to Communism. And since the Federal power has caused to be withdrawn from the statutes a law which was protecting Canada against communistic propaganda, thus permitting the agents of Moscow to redouble their activity, the Government of Quebec has passed provincial legislation and has taken severe measures against Communism.

In addition to this, an increasing number of French Canadians are convinced that, in order to break economic dictatorship and to found a social order vivified by justice and charity, the best means is to establish the corporative organization as it is recommended by Pius XI in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, and, more recently still, in *Divini Redemptoris*:

"The reign of mutual collaboration between justice and charity in social-economic relations can be achieved only by a body of professional and interprofessional organizations, built on solidly Christian foundations, working together to effect, on the forms adapted to different places and circumstances, what has been called the Corporation."

And the French Canadians are striving to organize the professions in accordance with these counsels.

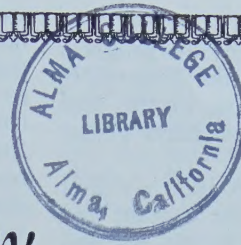
These are the facts that have given birth to the legend of a Fascist Quebec. Angered at seeing their propaganda paralyzed, the agents of Moscow at once altered the sense of the corporative restoration sought by the French Canadians and they have represented it as an attempt to establish a fascist corporatism, a totalitarian State. But this deceitful campaign shall not arrest the work that has been undertaken. On the contrary, it is giving it new vigor. Little by little our professional groups are being organized in accordance with the norms of Pius XI, and soon, we hope, the Province of Quebec will appear as a State where, due to corporative organization, social justice at last shall rule.

JOSEPH P. ARCHAMBAULT, S.J.



Part I

Home Survey



Communism and the Negro

By JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

MUCH is being debated whether Communism is making progress among the Negroes. It is certain, however, that Communism is making every effort to win the Negroes, in accordance with the resolution on the Negro question in the U.S.A. of the Third International, in 1930, which definitely raises the perspective of "The Negro Rebellion" as "the prelude of gigantic struggles for power by the American proletariat;" and such typical statements as that of the 1932 CP platform:

"The Communist party is the political party of the oppressed masses of the people,—the industrial workers, the persecuted Negroes, the toiling farmers.

"The Negro people, always hounded, persecuted, disfranchised and discriminated against in capitalist America are, during this period of crisis oppressed as never before. They are the first to be fired when lay-offs take place. They are discriminated against when charity rations are handed out to the unemployed. They are cheated and robbed by the Southern white landlords, and evicted from their land and homes when their miserable income does not enable them to pay rent. When they protest against this unbearable oppression and persecution, they are singled out for political attacks in the North and for lynch victims in the South. Over 150 Negroes have been barbarously lynched at the instigation of the white ruling class since the crisis began. The Negro reformist misleaders are shamelessly aiding the white master class in these vicious attacks.

"EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE BLACK BELT."

American Communist Program

The reasons for this interest are shown in instructions given in 1935

to the Agitprop Department of the CPUSA. Of the three historic "allies of the proletariat" farmers, oppressed nationalities (in the United States the Negroes), and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the Negroes are "potentially the most revolutionary ally." In answer to the question, "why?" The Communists do not allege any supposed revolutionary disposition on the part of the Negroes. They realize, considerably to their regret, that the Negroes are naturally a peace-loving and conservative, not revolutionary, people. Negroes have a strong sense of tradition and custom. But they look to the Negroes' *circumstances* as the means for overcoming this natural conservatism—just as the circumstances of the North European industrial workers ultimately developed a violent revolutionary spirit among the most naturally conservative people in Europe. These are: "The special oppression and *double exploitation* of the Negroes, as toilers (like all other poor workers) and as a national minority (against whom there are special discriminations)." The signs of this exploitation are thus summarized:

1. Job discriminations and lower relief allowances or total denials.
 2. Being driven off the land, through Federal agricultural programs. (This means an increasing Negro proletariat.)
 3. Denial of civil rights.
 4. Segregation, e. g. Jim Crow housing, travel, etc.
 5. Exclusion from various categories of professions and occupations.
 6. Lynching, "not incidental," but an established system for oppression, which operates by threat when it does not operate by act.
 7. Police and court frame-ups, etc.
- The working class, it is pointed out, cannot be successful in the struggle for their rights as long as Negro workers suffer special exploitation. There-

fore it must "throw itself into the struggle for full social and political equality for the Negroes." In the words of Karl Marx, "Labor in the white skin cannot emancipate itself as long as labor in the black skin is branded;" and of the Communist international resolution of 1930: "The struggle for equal rights for the Negroes is one of the most important parts of the proletarian class struggle in the U.S.A." Particularly objectionable are the A.F. of L. and "Negro reformists." Tasks to be fulfilled are:

"1. To intensify and extend the struggle for Negro rights, against Jim Crowism, discrimination, marching at the head of this struggle. This struggle must be brought into the shops, trade-unions, unemployment work, etc., and must be tied up with the fight for the day-to-day needs of the Negro masses.

"2. To popularize the slogan of self-determination, and tie it up with the fight for equal rights.

"3. To combat Fascist ideology among the masses, which manifests itself in white chauvinism, and to broadly popularize the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union. Before we can do this effectively, we must wipe out every shred of Fascist white chauvinism from the ranks of the party.

"4. To build the L.S.N.R. (League of Struggle for Negro Rights) and the I.L.D. (International Labor Defense), and to make the *Liberator* (organ of the L.S.N.R.) a mass organ leading the fight for Negro rights.

"5. To penetrate other mass organizations (such as the fraternal lodges, cultural clubs, etc.,) and the churches, particularly the latter, since they are the center of Negro social and cultural life.

"6. To promote and develop Negroes for leadership, in unit and section."

Communist Progress

We gain a fair idea of the progress of Communism among the Negroes if we study the realization, in the past two years, of the several parts of the above program.

In this list of objectives we first observe that it does *not* contain any urging to Communists to get out and solicit Negro memberships for the Communist party. In that way it differs strikingly from the "pep talks" familiar to organization meetings, such as the K. of C. Thus it follows the well-known popular front methods, which do not aim at an empty display of membership, but rather at the creation of a vast body of sympathizers, "thirty to forty times as many as the individual Communist," as Earl Browder said in an interview. For this reason actual Communist party enrollment among Negroes—the matter about which most people are curious—has little real significance in point of *numbers*. What does signify is the *type of persons* enlisted: a carefully trained elite.

The total city-wide CP enrollment for 1936-37 in Greater New York was 10,463, including Brooklyn and Queens Borough. In Manhattan Borough it was 3,480. In all of Harlem (Assembly Districts 11, 13, 17, 19, 21 and 22) the total was 1,280. Of these but a minority was Negro. Most of these were contained in the A.D.'s 19 and 21, which numbered respectively 220 and 78 CP members.

Growth of CP membership in all Harlem was, by years from 1932-33 to 1936-37 as follows: 690; 1,979; 954; 896; 1,280. What made the startling leap in 1933-34, followed by relapse to the normal rate of growth? The answer is: "Father Divine." The CP during that year conceived the hair-brained notion of enrolling Father Divine's followers en masse as full-fledged party members. Results to the benefit of the CP were nil. All Father Divine's disciples are interested in is "Thank, you, Father," and what the "Father" hands out to them. Once they had marched in the May Day parade they had no more interest in the CP, which lost its interest in them. They were proletarian, but not "good material."

No Negro is directly invited to become a party member. The prospective candidate is first invited to a series of "progressive" meetings, where contacts are formed, while the prospect's personality is studied. Membership comes as the conclusion of a logical process, not as an initial phase, and quality is rigidly preferred to quantity.

Objective No. 2, in the above list,

was never successfully played up. It has been generally ridiculed, even from radical sources, and remains merely as a symbol of conformity with Moscow requirements. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights, also, has been suspended; and the I.L.D.'s popularity has risen and fallen with the vicissitudes of the Scottsboro case.

The Major Efforts

Communism's major efforts among the Negroes at the present time are those stated in Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 6: viz. to assume the first place, to "march at the head of the struggle," in the combat against racial discrimination; to rally sympathizers through creating an anti-Fascist ideology; to penetrate organizations; and to develop individual leadership.

Objective No. 1, assumption of leadership in the struggle against racial discrimination, is strenuously disputed with the Communists by older groups in the field. The most militant of these, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has taken on a definitely anti-Communist complexion, largely owing to the experiences of its Executive Secretary, Walter White, with the trickery of the Communists during the Scottsboro prosecutions. Thorough disapproval of Communism is registered likewise by a great number of other outstanding leaders among the Negroes in the struggle against racial discrimination: such men, for instance as Elmer A. Carter, former Editor of *Opportunity*; Dr. Kelly Miller, Dean of Howard University; T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League; E. K. Jones, of the United States Department of Commerce, etc. Communist strategy is divided between enthusiastically applauding such leadership when there seems to be some chance of drawing it to their side, and bitterly vilifying it when it refuses (as in the cases mentioned) to be utilized for their purposes.

Nevertheless, the existence of Jim Crowism and discrimination based upon purely racial grounds affords staple fuel to the flame of Communism. As long as these conditions exist, it is useless to talk of stopping Communism's advance among the Negroes. One single instance of a Catholic child excluded from a Northern parish school, of a Catholic employer to refuse to employ Negroes otherwise competent on the sole ground that they are Negroes, does more to spread Communism than squads of soap-box orators and shelf-loads of pamphlets.

This condition is facilitated by a fact which American sociologists very largely overlook: that the acute sec-

tional differences in the United States apply in large measure to the majority, not to the minority group. What the white man does in one part of the United States, according to a widely proposed principle, is not the business of white men in other parts of the country. But Negroes are concerned with the lot of Negroes as a whole regardless of sectional limitations. What happens in one remote backwoods section is flashed to Negroes in every part of the Union. What the "grape-vine telegraph" once accomplished is now amplified a hundredfold by the enterprise of the Negro press, which reaches over 500,000 subscribers and five times that many readers every week, while Negro leaders, social workers, educators and organizers travel rapidly from end to end of the continent. New York and Chicago are as much centers of rural or small-town Negro life in regions remote from the metropolis as is the nearby county seat. Hence if or when Communist leadership is established, it will be established on a nationwide scale, and will thrive on white sectional differences. The *New Masses* has a considerable readership among the younger Negroes.

Popular Front Tactics

The Communists have succeeded to a considerable degree in promoting the popular front ideology through the League Against War and Fascism and similar movements. An example was the terrific feeling stirred up during the Ethiopian conflict. Actual sympathy for the Ethiopians was scant: hardly anything could be raised in Harlem for the benefit of Haile Selassie's troops, but none the less an intense resentment was aroused against Catholicism and the Holy See. Through such organizations as the American Student Union (ASU) and the Teachers' Union, the Communists have succeeded in promoting the idea among Negro youth and among teachers' and professional groups that Communism is linked up with peace and democracy.

A still more effective means of arousing sympathy with Communism has been the aggressive attitude taken by the various pressure groups in the relief and welfare field. The Harlem Council of the Workers' Alliance, in New York City, has been outstanding in developing aggressive leaders. How far the facts actually bear out the statement is disputed, but an impression is sedulously disseminated that in four, at least, of the districts of the Emergency Relief Bureau in the same city it is impossible to obtain promotion unless one is either a party member or definitely a party sympathizer.

The process of "penetration" (Objective 5) was strikingly illustrated during the recent second National Negro Congress, which took place this year in Philadelphia, October 15-17. When the first National Negro Congress was organized in Chicago, last year, it was a rather indefinite affair, the purpose being the simple one of a general meeting of Negro leaders in every walk of life, where all shades of opinion would be represented. The same non-controversial purpose was announced for the Philadelphia convention, to which the most conservative as well as the moderately liberal and the definitely radical Negro leaders were invited. During the interim, however, between the first and second Congress, the Communists had slipped into the picture. They saw their opportunity, and offered, what up to that time had not been provided, organization technique and leadership. Communist organizers were placed in key places for the administration of the Congress, Communist leaders were skillfully placed upon the program, such as A. W. Berry, organizer of the upper Harlem section of the Communist party; Richard B. Moore, of the I.L.D.; Louise Thompson, of the International Workers' Order (who, incidentally, did most of the organizing, with marvelous skill and tact, for Hubert Herring's excursions to Mexico and the Caribbean); the heroes and heroines of Scottsboro, etc. Conservatives like F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, Ala., were sandwiched among the radicals, to give the impression of common good feeling and a united front. Non-Communist race leaders, like the brilliant educator, Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, of North Carolina, were uproariously applauded when their language was "dynamic." The result was that the Communists completely "stole the show." What Communism could do was seen by 1,500 delegates and 4,500 persons in attendance. In contrast to the vapid first Congress, the second Congress is now registered with millions of Negroes as a brilliant success. Yet among this large audience were no small number of educated, informed Negroes who were disgusted with the turn things had taken. The vociferous applause of white Communists planted amongst them confirmed their conviction that the whole affair must be "cleaned up." Catholic representation at the Congress was nil; not to be surprised at, since so far the Church in this country has left the question of leadership among the Negroes entirely to the Protestants—now bewildered and disorganized—and the radical groups, on the ground that it would

be "too much of a problem" for Catholics to handle. The radicals are handling it because it is a problem, and it is now their strongest asset.

Negro Intelligentsia

Recently ten of the outstanding non-Catholic Negro leaders in New York, prominent nationally for religious, social, educational and other work, were interviewed as to the *real* dangers of Communism among the Negroes. With practical unanimity they placed its danger not in any immediate appeal to the Negro masses, who are religiously minded and not inclined to such ideologies, but to its capture of the Negro intelligentsia—who, regardless of whatever may be conjectured, wield an enormous influence with the Negro people. To talk, as some do, of concentrating *all* our apostolic energies, *all* our mission resources upon the sole task of converting and ministering to the humble Negro masses, and thereby forgetting the problem of higher education and the development of an elite of Negro leaders may sound fair enough. Such advice may take on an air of prudence and piety. But it means simply a sheer ignoring of the overwhelming fact, which is that the work for the masses will be lost, the missionary's efforts dissipated, the Church's work frustrated, if the leadership of these masses is to be abandoned to men who are on fire with the hatred of God and the determination to root religion from the Negro's heart. Exactly the same laws apply in this respect as apply in all our Catholic educational program. Because one thing must be done is not a reason for omitting the other.

The immediate goal of the Communists are the professional and literary classes among the Negroes, particularly among the younger element. At the present time, it is estimated by one of the persons interviewed, that 30 per cent of the Negro professional groups in New York are either Communists or are Communist sympathizers. Those most sought are young men and young women of the brilliant and the aggressive type. If possible, they are sent to Russia for formation. The Urban League organizations in the various cities have a conservative program. They are devoted to obtaining such social adjustments in welfare and charitable matters as can be accomplished without conflict and in strictly legal form. They avoid the most controversial issues. Yet the secretary of one of the Middle Western Urban Leagues is an outright Communist and atheist. He was trained in Soviet Russia and attempted to hold a Communist meeting in the parlor of the local Catholic rectory. Experience shows that

once these leaders are in the key places, it is next to impossible to dislodge them, for martyrdom is a benefit to their cause.

Chatwood Hall's weekly columns depict the Soviet paradise for the Negro press. The principal point being played up is: no race discriminations in Russia. He compares the lot of collective farmers with Southern share croppers. Paul Robeson writes home to say how happy and peaceful is his stay in Sovietland. Dr. Russell Conwell Barbour, editor of the *National Baptist Voice* (Negro), at the annual commencement exercises of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., ridiculed the objections to Communism as childish, praised their work, and told the students "we need not join the Communist party to help them fight on the frontier." A young Chicago Negro social worker gives a press interview on her month's impressions of the Soviet Union. There, she says, she found harmony and union where everywhere else was disunion and Fascism or the threat of Fascism. This is broadcast for the masses in the Negro press.

One of the most successful strokes of Communist Party strategy has been their approach to the Negro clergy, particularly the minority among these who are really educated and capable. Several among these have confessed to me that, whatever their personal misgivings as to Communism might be, they did not feel in a position to oppose it, for fear of retaliations, and put their churches at the disposal of Communist-controlled organizations like the League Against War and Fascism (now the League For Peace and Democracy).

The Catholic Interracial Movement proceeds upon the assumption, for which we have ample evidence, that there still remain a fair number, possibly a majority, of intelligent non-Catholic Negro leaders who profoundly deplore the advance of Communism, recognize its fallacies, and are willing to join us in any reasoned and practical campaign we make against it. Such men as Elmer Carter, Dr. and Mrs. E. P. Roberts, Dr. Crafts, George Schuyler, Rev. Lorenzo King, Walter White, Theophilus Lewis, Alain Locke and others have shown up Communism's inner contradictions. We have a small but intelligent Catholic professional Negro group in New York who are cooperating in this program. But all these men and women realize that such a campaign is doomed to failure if it is confined merely to a negative attack upon Communism. There must be a positive, constructive program of social justice, including civic rights and

ample vocational opportunity; and this program of social justice will not succeed unless it, in turn, recognizes and utilizes to the full the intelligence and the cultural abilities of Negro youth. Through all sorts of cultural activities, recreational, dramatic, musical, literary; through study clubs and forums, these cultural abilities are being developed by the radicals. While, for instance, in New York City, there is no central meeting ground for young Catholic Negroes in their own neighborhood, the Communists offer them hospitality. The best they can do is to take pot luck with the radicals who invade such neutral agencies as the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.

Land Ownership

Private property, the stabilizing element among any race, is increasingly inaccessible for large numbers of Negroes. The seriousness of this danger is more widely recognized in the South than in the North. Several prominent Southern sociologists have drawn attention to the need of encouraging land ownership, on a distributed basis, among the Negroes. Land projects have been set up, some under private, others under Governmental auspices. But the attempts thus far made to remedy the evil are small in comparison to the need. The percentage of Negro farmers owning their own farms is decreasing, even in proportion to the decreases among the whites.

One matter which discourages Negro land ownership is the absence of organization and trained rural leadership among the rural Negroes. In time, such leadership will be supplied by the Communists, as it has already been supplied to some extent in the case of

The region which, outside of Louisiana, seemed to offer the finest opportunities for distributed Negro land ownership, and hence a bulwark against the ever-increasing Negro proletariat in nearby Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington—the land of Southern Maryland, has witnessed a steady dwindling of its Catholic Negro population. Owing to the inability of these counties, where Catholics are in the majority, to offer any sort of constructive land policy, young Negroes have found themselves faced by a total lack of opportunity in a region which has never lost its natural resources of tobacco, staple crops and seafood industries. The result has been a continual migration to the city, while even the scanty Negro land-holdings have steadily passed into the hands of land speculators or have been sold for taxes.

Organized Labor

The field of organized labor has so

far not offered the same opportunities for Communist activity among the Negroes as among other groups in this country. As observed by T. Arnold Hill ("The Negro and the C.I.O." *Opportunity*, August, 1937): "The Negro is not yet labor conscious. . . . He is not ready to join either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. or any other union in fear that the slight gain he has made in industry will be lost. He has not yet sensed the possibility of exclusion if he fails to join a labor union which subsequently becomes the bargaining union group. It should be recognized by white unions that Negro workers can destroy the standards which they set up as long as these Negro workers are not members of the trade-union movement."

Nevertheless, the policy of discrimination which prevails in a considerable number of A. F. of L. unions constitutes a standing and legitimate grievance among the Negroes, and thus provides material for effective agitation by the Communists. The C.I.O. has a better reputation in this respect. It has bid for Negroes where the A. F. of L. has ignored or deliberately excluded them. Not that the C.I.O. record is immaculate in this respect. But in general the C.I.O. has shown itself devoid of discrimination. The consequence is that any thinking Negro, even if by no means radically inclined, will unhesitatingly endorse the C.I.O., and derogatory references to that organization by Catholic speakers and writers are resented as implying racial prejudice.

These complexities of the Negro labor situation with regard to Communism really deserve special treatment, which space forbids here.

Agitation Tactics

Those who undertake to combat Communism among the Negroes are faced with a fact which cannot be eluded merely because it is unwelcome: that a great many of the arguments effective among the dominant white group produce a contrary effect when proposed to the Negro minority. Fundamental denunciations of Communism as un-American and subversive of our institutions not only leave the Negro cold, they confirm him in the suspicion that in Communism there may be something decidedly worth while. The type of men whom he sees most vehemently denouncing it is the type who have most loudly proclaimed the Negro's essential inferiority. The institutions which they wish to preserve have not preserved him from lynch-law and from legal discriminations and other abuses. The warnings against atheism, even, do not affect him when he sees persons who are apparently

profoundly religious and in excellent standing in their own churches, even high officials of the same, countenancing social malpractices which he knows are forbidden by ordinary justice as well as by the teachings of Christ.

On the other hand, Communism does not come to him with mere promises; it offers some immediate fulfilments. It gives him immediate and unconditional *brotherhood*. In the present Popular Front propaganda, it clothes itself by indirection in the mantle of Christian brotherhood; but in any case, it is genuine brotherhood, warm, cordial and, for the intelligent, on a high and idealistic plane.

Let me note in this connection the interesting fact that, in New York at least, practised observers agree that *intermarriage* between whites and Negroes is not noticeable as a result of this fraternalization. The Communists do not propagandize for it; indeed they show distaste for the idea. This absence of intermarriage witnesses to the familiar fact that so far, at least, the effect of education and social freedom among the Negroes has been to increase the mutual attractiveness of Negro youth of both sexes and to multiply the racial bonds of interest, rather than to stimulate mixture with other races.

Even more appealing than brotherhood, Communism offers the young Negro a *vision*: the vision of a *task* and the vision of *leadership*, the two things which most keenly appeal to the heart of modern youth. And modern Negro youth is as modern as any other. The Communist teaches him that he is called to share in the historic task of the proletariat, that of building a new world order. Since the present world order does not want him, he concludes that anything else will be worth the gamble. I have frequently heard this from the lips of young Negroes.

Communism proclaims to him that he is not a liability, to be tolerated with charity, but a mighty asset in the historical work of the world's revolution. Hence his existence, his circumstances, his talents and capacities are all to the good. The circumstances of the Negro, which are made a reproach by the white group that is largely instrumental in causing and continuing them, are valued by the Communists, who see in them material for propaganda. The Communists are ready to recognize Negro talent, artistic, literary, dramatic, intellectual. The youth Negro who has a talent for research, for drama, for music; any branch of cultural activity will find an immediate welcome for his talents either in Soviet Russia or other circles abroad or in this country. True, there are some miserable deceptions but these are

overlooked in the glamour of a movement which has captured bag and baggage such brilliant and sensitive minds as Langston Hughes, now filling the Negro press with his vivid correspondence from Loyalist Spain; Claude McKay; Paul Robeson; Attorney William H. Patterson, and a host of others.

Exigencies of the Popular Front have somewhat toned down the fervent appeals to world-wide racial patriotism and Pan-Africanism which formerly gave tone to radical utterances; but the under-current still remains. The leftward swing of the great South African Negro leader, Dr. Max Yergan, one of the most finely discriminating and spiritually-minded men I have met in the group outside of the Church, is profoundly significant. Dr. Yergan, though not a Communist, has affiliated himself with Communist groups, precisely because they know how to appeal, as was done in the Ethiopian case, to racial patriotism. Negro racialism, moreover, is the immediate and the logical reaction to white racialism. It is the inevitable consequence of that philosophy which, as Pope Pius XI says, exalts race to an "idolatrous cult."

In providing the Negro with leadership the Communists are not content with empty honors, in the style of the Sons and Daughters of Something-or-Other. They provide training and organization technique, to inexperienced hands, but to hands conscious of the power that lies within them. They provide leadership not merely for intra-party activities, but for any type of activity. I was once quite earnestly solicited by a couple of young Negroes who were getting their first taste of Communist training to invite a few friendly Communists to attend meetings of a Catholic organization and show me how to "put things across." The young Negro trained in Communist leadership methods, through the abundant Communist or pink adult-education classes which operate under every conceivable auspices, knows how to get himself into key positions, how to conduct meetings and handle parliamentary obstacles, how to study situations and prepare reports—which the Communists do to an amusing voluminosity—how to break up opposition,

how to assume leadership of a dissatisfied rank-and-file group and articulate their troubles, etc., etc. They learn how to be leaders in *unlikely* situations, or regions, involving danger and possible martyrdom; how to be apostles and confessors.

The Communist, in a word, does not operate merely by baits of bread and circuses. He demands personal sacrifice and his principal weapon is an appeal to a very high spiritual idealism, the sense of a distinctive mission and the sense of a latent capacity for leadership and power, things which bring out the very best in man's nature, combined with a total reprobation of that which the intelligent Negro feels within himself to be a living lie, the doctrine of his own essential inferiority. The Communists are not content to assume this idealism, they create it, by utilizing the imaginative powers of their white and Negro sympathizers.

What Must Be Done?

Hence it is that we shall not, I judge, combat Communism among the Negroes merely by exposing its evident contradictions and falsities. It is not enough to enable the Negroes to "see through" Communism; nor to quote the remarks of a conservative like Dr. Kelly Miller. Nor enough merely to be kind and generous towards them; nor to give them things spiritual or temporal "as good" as the white man. What is needed is to aim to make Negro youth participants in a great Catholic social program that will arouse the enthusiasm of all races, that will meet idealism by idealism and the Communist technique of organization by the Catholic technique of organic justice and charity. Integral atheism and atheistic opportunism cannot be met merely by Catholic opportunism. They can only be met by integral Catholicism and by "doing the truth in charity."

It is not too late to put such a program into effect. The response that non-Catholic as well as Catholic Negroes have shown to the Catholic Interracial program has evidenced this. But it will be too late if the opportunity is neglected. I believe that the Negroes' "religious nature" will cause the

Negro masses to resist Communist longer than other groups not so religiously inclined. But the "religious nature" is, after all, not a real nature but merely a psychological leading. Persistence and continued grievances will break this "nature" down, the increasing proletarianization of the rural Negro removes the last economic obstacle, and Communism, if it does not actually enroll Negroes in its ranks, will so demoralize and embitter them as to render indefinitely postponed the conversion to Catholicism of the 12,000,000 Negroes in this country.

Bibliography

Reference to works by Father Gilard and Father LaFarge previously reviewed in these pages.

The working bibliography at the end of *Interracial Justice* (America Press, \$2.00), gives ample information on the general situation and on the labor situation. Add to this, James S. Allen, "Negro Liberation," for the orthodox communistic view. The Workers Library Publishers, P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York City, have an abundance of pamphlets on this topic, e.g., by James W. Ford, Negro Communist and perpetual candidate for the Vice Presidency, and C. A. Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*. Cf. also the Thesis, "The Way Out," of the Eighth Convention, CPUSA.

The *Interracial Review*, published at 220 West Forty-second Street, New York City (\$1.00 per year), offers abundant information on Negro topics from the Catholic point of view, and also conducts an information service for study groups and individual inquirers. Write to the editor, George K. Hunton (A.B., Holy Cross College).

Opportunity and the *Crisis* (69 Fifth Avenue and 1133 Broadway, New York City, respectively) offer information as to the changing scene. The editors of these two periodicals are both opposed to Communism, though they occasionally for the sake of demonstration admit radical articles. *Opportunity* keeps a continual tab on the labor situation through the research department of the National Urban League, in whose office it is published.





Part II

Foreign Survey



Popular Front Measures

THERE are definite indications, says the N. C. W. C. News Service, that in all parts of the world, apparently under uniform orders from Moscow, Communists are promoting their false contention that His Holiness Pope Pius XI desires Catholics to collaborate with them.

The most prominent of these attempts has been made in France. A large number of the Bishops of that country recently made their *ad limina* visits to Rome. The Communists seized upon their words, upon their return, and distorted them so as to indicate that the Holy Father had counseled them to accept the so-called "outstretched hand" policy of the Reds. This false assertion was assiduously put forth by the Communists in the United States, and also in European countries other than France.

Now comes word of the scheme being worked in Mexico. At a meeting of the Mexican Communist Party in Mexico City, Angel Urrutia sounded an appeal to Catholics to enter the ranks of the Communist Party. He based his urgings on the statement that Pope Pius XI has accepted, under certain conditions, the "outstretched hand" of the French Communist Party. The speaker did not cite the document of the Holy Father which is purported to authorize Catholics to enter the Communist ranks, nor did he specify the "certain conditions" supposed to have been imposed by His Holiness.

In the United States, *The Daily Worker*, Communist organ, carried a dispatch from Arles, France, where the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party was held, repeating the false interpretation of the French Bishops' remarks and giving impetus in this country to the Communist scheme.

In England, too, the Catholic Press found it necessary to take prompt and vigorous action to counteract the false claims.

This newest scheme is another step in the devious and unpredictable tactics of the Communist Party. It is, of

course, a phase of the "outstretched hand" policy, which, in turn, may be considered a development in the "United Front" campaign of the Communists. The "United Front," on the other hand, is not a development from, but rather a complete reversal of, the original Communist tactics, which were those of strict noncooperation.

Previous Communist tactics, as recited in the N. C. W. C. study, "Communism in the United States," were followed up until the time of the depression. Isolation and revolution were the keynotes. Communists were instructed to take a "stand off" attitude toward existing institutions and at the same time to work vigorously for common ownership by the promotion of revolution. While obstructing the work of existing institutions, the Reds created a number of new organizations which they used as tools in their fight against the prevailing order.

When the depression set in, there was some change in this general policy, but substantially it remained the same. The change was chiefly a slight relaxation of the policy of isolation, in order to foster agitational organization among the unemployed and among former soldiers.

The "about face" came in 1935, again under orders from Moscow. Revolutionary propaganda was played down. The policy of noncooperation and isolation was abandoned. The "United Front" became the password. Infiltration became the tactic. Now came the covert drive to squeeze Communists into organizations of the prevailing order, and through these members—sometimes hidden and sometimes openly Communists—to seize control of the organizations for the purposes of "The Party."

Recent months have seen the real application of the "outstretched hand" policy. This, apparently, is an effort by the Communists to cooperate with every group they possibly can—to cooperate with any group that will have anything to do with them. In this

sense, it is a refinement of the "Popular Front" policy. That it is adaptable to new and vicious forms of deceitful propaganda is evidenced by the current brazen assertion that the Pope wishes Catholics to cooperate with them.

As a matter of fact, what the Holy Father told the French Bishops was that if the gesture of the outstretched hand expresses a desire to know Catholics better in order to respect better their religion, the Church will not refuse to do this work of enlightenment. His Holiness recommends charity toward men individually, even though they be Communists, but forbids entering into pacts with them or collaborating with an erroneous doctrine. His Eminence Pierre Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Lyon, administering a crushing refutation to the false interpretations, said: "There is irreducible antinomy between the thought of the Pope and the doctrine that is inspired by materialism, and which tends to destroy the dignity of the human person, the essential basis of social justice."

In France.

At the National Congress of French Communists, held at Arles, in France, every effort was made to proclaim the "outstretched hand" propaganda and to renew their advances toward Catholics.

One of the speakers, Deputy Lareppe, cited the case of certain workers in the Ardennes who, during a strike demonstration, he said, sang the "Internationale," the "Marseillaise," and the "Credo" in turn. It was the first time anyone heard of such an incident which, under any circumstances, would be news. If it did occur and escaped the general notice, it must have been due to the fact that it was "staged," and recognized as staged, by Communists. Such a Communist device is not unprecedented.

Lallemand, a delegate from the region of the Nord, displayed some naivete when he let slip the afterthoughts of his party: "In the Nord,

we are very partial to the tactic of the outstretched hand, for in that section religious traditions remain long-lived." This, of course, indicates quite clearly the willingness of the party to temper its program according to the locality in which it is working.

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, made a statement that was not quoted in connection with the declarations addressed to Catholics, but which was reported by a journalist covering the Congress: "We are not stray lambs that can be brought back into the fold; we will remain materialists." This would indicate that Thorez is ready to accept or to seek collaboration, but for the purpose of making recruits among Catholics and not to offer collaboration to Catholics.

As a matter of fact, the game of the Communists is quite clear to those who watch it attentively. In their effort to lay hands on the laboring class and on their organizations, they have encountered the most serious resistance to date among the Catholic masses and the Christian syndicates. They are trying to disarm such defiance and seek to obtain entry into Catholic circles to spread their propaganda.

Before a distinguished audience in Paris, Deputy Le Cour Grandmaison, of Brittany, Vice President of the National Catholic Federation, made a reply to the campaign of French Communist leaders on "the hand outstretched to Catholics."

In the light of the Papal Encyclicals and the declarations of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Breton Deputy showed why Catholics must refuse to collaborate with the Communist Party but, at the same time, treat individuals with charity. He emphasized the reasons why Catholics can only doubt the sincerity of Communist offers.

"If the hand that you extend to us," the speaker concluded, "is the hand of the hungry, we shall give you bread for body and soul; if the hand that you extend to us is that of the wounded, we shall bear on our shoulders this suffering brother; if the hand that you extend to us is that of the blind, we shall guide you toward the light; if the hand that you extend to us is that of the disinherited and of the despairing one, we shall restore to you peace, joy, hope, and love. But if the hand that you extend to us is that of the traitor, the seducer, the enemy of souls, then in the Name of Christ Who saved these souls with His blood, we reject it. It is for you to answer, to accord your acts with your words."

In Holland.

In Amsterdam the Catholic Commit-

tee Pro Deo issued a warning to Catholics of Holland against peace organizations, either influenced, controlled, or tainted with Communistic elements.

It cites the Amsterdam-Pleyel organization which was formed in 1932 to combat Fascism and capitalistic imperialism and favors the Soviet Union. The R. U. P. (*Rassemblement Universel Pour La Paix*) was launched in 1935 by Lord Robert Cecil, according to the committee, with the collaboration of the Communists, Pierre Cot and Sjvernik. It is stated that the list of R. U. P. leaders, published in the Moscow *Pravda* in May, 1936, contains, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the names of leading Socialists and Communists. In 1936 the R. U. P. merged with the Amsterdam-Pleyel. The committee says that the Central Peace Bureau of The Hague, which is closely connected with the International Camp for Youth of Bierville, near Paris, has become a dependency of the Holland Branch of the R. U. P. The committee further charges that the International Secretariat of the R. U. P. has its headquarters in the former League of Nations buildings at Geneva and is seeking to change the League of Nations into a World Front, which, under the guidance of Moscow, may present the world with "the peace of revolution."

Catholics are cautioned against a short-sighted enthusiasm, which may lead them to cooperation.

In Canada.

The Communist Party of Canada is distributing thousands of circulars in Quebec province, in which they seek to turn to their own account reports of a recent declaration of His Eminence Jean Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, regarding the "extended hand."

Under the heading, "New Communist Manœuver," the local French daily newspaper, *Le Canada*, says in an editorial:

"The Communist Party of Canada, which has its general headquarters at Toronto, has been distributing in Quebec thousands of circulars entitled 'Let Us Unite Quebec Against Duplessis.' It is particularly directed against the padlock law. On this point the Government does not need our defense. What has struck us is the promptness of the Canadian Communist Party in turning to their own account the recent words of Cardinal Verdier. The circular says:

"To our Catholics brothers. . . .

"We are making an especial appeal to the Catholic people of this province whose fathers fought 100 years ago at St. Denis, St. Eustache, St. Charles, and who gave their lives to obtain a

free democracy! . . . The true sentiments are expressed . . . by Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, when he made an appeal on December 10 last to the Catholics of the entire world:

"Safeguard before all else the dignity and liberty of the human being. . . . Ignorance and contempt for the rights of man are the sole causes of public evils. . . . A declaration of these rights should be unceasingly recalled to the members of the social order!

"Now Cardinal Verdier, after consultation with Pope Pius XI, has declared that the Church will not refuse the extended hand of the Communists, and that it is necessary to reply in a noble Christian fashion to this appeal on condition that it has to do with the well-being of the people. Bar the road to Fascism in Quebec."

"And the circular concludes: 'Adhere to the Communist Party, defender of the workers.'

"It is sufficient to read again the declaration of Cardinal Verdier to realize that those of his words cited between inverted commas did not express all his thought. The Archbishop of Paris condemned Fascism as well as Communism. He stated precisely what the Church expects of democracy:

"In a word She (the Church) still places the human person at the summit of the political order. Everything converges towards this. You have already seen that we are far, with such a teaching, from that social state where the individual is absorbed by collectivism, or where he is only a wheel in an immense machine which is the State.'

"That is a condemnation of Communism. And Cardinal Verdier adds:

"There has been substituted to the primacy of the human person idols in the cult of which liberty often is sacrificed. Let France, beloved daughter of the Church, and throughout the centuries guardian and apostle of the people's liberties, remember her mission and her history. Catholic tradition is incompatible with the doctrines which, forgetting the rights of the individual, deify the State, class, or race.'

"And that is a condemnation of Fascism.

"As regards the Sovereign Pontiff, here is what he replied to the Communists' appeal, addressed to the Catholics of France:

"In the name of Christ, Who loves you, We salute you. But what do you want of us? What do you expect of us? Your doctrines are not ours. . . . Collaboration? Our actions are imbued with spirituality. Yours are weakened by materialism. And this spiritual element, which for us is the soul and true

renaissance of all action, you repudiate. Is it possible to collaborate from that on? We wish, we Christians, to relieve and console those who suffer, to aid the worker in the vindication of his rights, to prepare the way in justice and charity for the reconciliation of all men. If this gesture of the extended hand expresses on your part the desire to better know your Catholic brothers, to better respect them, their sentiments, and their works, the Church will not refuse to carry out this enlightenment . . . and you will not be slow to realize that She can serve powerfully for the happiness of all.

"We wish, like Thou, O Divine Samaritan, to extend the hand to all those who suffer or are in misery, hoping to lighten the burdens of all or at least to comfort and console them. We wish to aid all, provided that they do not ask us to sacrifice the least particle of the holy truth which is the seed of all true charity, of all true salvation."

"That is not how the last paragraph, cited higher above, reads. The Canadian Communists have cleverly turned to their own account part of the words of Cardinal Verdier and the Pope, but these only proclaim the insincerity of the Communists."

In Puerto Rico.

Dr. Lanauze Rolon, propagator of Communist doctrine in Puerto Rico, has published a series of articles in *El Dia*, Ponce independent daily, in which he seeks to demonstrate that Christianity and Communism are not incompatible.

Commenting on these articles, *El Piloto*, San Juan Catholic weekly, states that "the doctor is equivocating—we might even say lying." "The doctor," it adds, "knows that what he says is not true. He knows that it is not true that Russian Communism 'has never campaigned against any church.' He knows that the contrary is true. He knows that for 20 years Russian Communism has waged a tremendous campaign against all churches. The doctor himself, on page 141 of his book, 'Along the Ways of Violence,' published in 1932, says that the Russian Communists were obliged 'to destroy, to annihilate the bourgeois class and its religions,' and that in doing so the Russian Communists 'advanced more resolutely each day on their way as conquerors.'"

El Piloto quotes at length from previous articles written by Dr. Rolon, and also from the works of Lenin and Stalin, and quotes in full the anti-religious decree issued by the Commissar of Education in 1934, all of which present evidence of a most active

anti-religious campaign on the part of Russian Communism.

In South America.

"The reason the Russians are so much interested in Spain is largely because of South America," Ellery Sedgwick, editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, who has just returned from Spain, declared in an interview with the Boston *Evening Transcript*.

The Russians "think they can get Argentina and other Latin countries through Madrid," Mr. Sedgwick said. "If they could get a Red Spain, they could get all to the South of us. They've already got Mexico."

Mr. Sedgwick expressed the belief that General Franco is winning the war. He emphasized the issue is not Spaniard against Spaniard but Spaniards against the Reds.

"The idea of nationalist Spain is to drive out the Russian influence," he asserted. "If you eliminated the Red influence, the Spaniards would come together. That's all they want."

The magazine editor was quoted as saying he had seen documents showing that Spain was to be divided into Soviets under a Red regime. He said it was entirely on the Russian system, papers listing men "who were to be made commissars and others who were to be shot."

An Insurgent victory, in his opinion, would, he said, "benefit Spain and the peace of Europe."

In Poland.

Slovenec, the journal of Dr. Korosec, Minister of Interior, carries an article from Warsaw reporting that Polish police have gotten possession of some very important documents in their energetic campaign against Communist propaganda in Poland.

One of the important discoveries was that Communists are instructed to "preserve the most absolute secrecy about their opinions, their political program, their cultural ideas, and their attitude with respect to the Catholic religion," and must preach "a free Church in a free State," and that religious opinions are personal affairs and no one should meddle in this domain.

Special instructions were issued propagandists in Poland to "get in contact with members of the Catholic clergy who have democratic opinions," and to preach religious tolerance and, in declaring themselves "for democ-

racy," even to go so far as to decry the revolution.

Setback by Stalin.

Stalin's recent declarations, however, have given a severe setback to the movement. He said:

"We must also increase and strengthen international proletarian ties of the working class of the U. S. S. R. with the working class of bourgeois countries. We must organize political help of the working class of bourgeois countries to the working class of our country in case of military attack. . . .

"Support of our revolution by the workers of all countries and particularly the victory of these workers in at least several countries, is a necessary condition for complete guarantee of the first conquered country (meaning Soviet Russia) from attempts at intervention and restoration. . . ."

"There can be but one interpretation of these declarations by Stalin," the radical New York *Post* said. "American workers," it asserted, "must, according to Stalin, be prepared to fight for Soviet Russia when he wants them. Their loyalty must be to the 'world proletariat' and to Russia—not to their own country, despicable, bourgeois United States."

The editorial then continues:

"The *Post* welcomes this new declaration from Josef Stalin. It clears the air completely. Americans who have approved Communist activities in the United States; who have felt that Soviet Russia, after all, was at least friendly to democracy, are now undeceived. Labor leaders who have cooperated with Communists; politicians who have condoned Communism on the principle that in fighting Fascism they should join in popular fronts with Communists, now see that the one ism is as evil as the other. Stalin reveals that the Communists have been sharpening the knife against our system just as have the Fascists. To talk of a united front for democracy with men plotting a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat is to talk nonsense. There can be no united front for democracy with enemies of democracy. Stalin has cleared the air. Four years of bunk have been wiped away in a single statement."



Part III

Christian Social Program



New York Schools of Social Science

THE XAVIER COURSES

XAVIER evening courses, now in their third year, are designed to meet the need of the lay public for instruction in the basic principles of the Catholic Social Code.

These free courses have ecclesiastical approval, and are offered by Jesuit and lay professors of distinction. They are open to Catholic and non-Catholic male adults, regardless of their previous education.

There are two sessions, the Winter and the Spring.

Spring Session: Registration, 7 to 10 p. m., January 14, 15.

Term begins Monday, January 17, 1938; ends Wednesday, March 23.

Personal advisors are available or registration nights for assistance in planning courses best suited to their needs.

The library of Social Sciences, sponsored by the Xavier Alumni Sodality, and located on the second floor, will be open Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday evenings, from 6:45 to 10 p. m.

There is no tuition fee for the courses. A registration fee of \$1 is asked to defray expenses of office, printing, lights and heat.

The courses offered are in General Ethics, Social Reformers, New Testament Readings, Christian Doctrine, History of Communism, Public Speaking, American Citizenship, Communism in Practice, Labor Encyclicals, Nationalism and International Relations, Elements of Economics, American Constitution, Sociology, Popular Apologetics, The Art of Thinking.

Saint Ignatius School, 46 East 84th Street

The St. Ignatius School of Social Science has the same purpose and approval as the Xavier School, and is for women. Its faculty is likewise composed of Jesuit and lay professors.

Spring Session: Registration: 7:30-9:30 p. m., January 10, 1938.

Term begins Tuesday, January 11; ends Wednesday, March 23.

Courses are offered in the History of Communism, Ethics, Guilds and Capitalism, Religion, Public Speaking, American Constitution, Social Justice and Economics.

Fordham School for Workers

A Workers School, designed to train members of local labor unions, C.I.O., A. F. of L., or independent, in the principles and practices of sound trade unionism following true Christian principles and ideals, was launched last year when registration was started at Fordham University's quarters in the Woolworth Building.

Sponsored jointly by Fordham University and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the Workers School is open without charge or registration fees to bona fide trade unionists whether Catholic or non-Catholic.

Plans for the Workers School, which it is hoped will be developed into a permanent branch of Fordham University, were projected last week following conferences between the Rev. Ignatius Cox, S.J., Professor of Ethics at Fordham University, the Rev. Dr. John P. Boland, priest-chairman of the State Labor Relations Board, and representatives of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. The Association, which was organized earlier this year, has established units in 14 cities.

Father Boland will conduct courses in the general subject of labor relations; while the Rev. John Monaghan, of Cathedral College, Chaplain of the A. C. T. U., will give courses in the history of American labor. Bernard J. O'Connell, New York attorney, is scheduled to teach Parliamentary Law and Public Speaking.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIAL WORK REPORTED AT GENERAL BISHOPS' MEETING

The report of the Department of Social Action, made by the Episcopal Chairman, the Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Great Falls, dealt with the subjects of industrial relations, international relations, citizenship, rural life and family life. In all these fields, it states, there has been in the past year unprecedented activity both within and without the Church.

With regard to industrial relations, it is reported that the year has been characterized by a tremendous growth and interest in labor organizations, a continued split in the ranks of labor, a sharp division of opinion regarding national policies to effect economic security for the masses of the people, a renewed vigor on the part of Communist-inspired organizations, and a widespread proclivity to identify all proposals for social reform with Communism.

Three projects of especial significance and value listed in the report as having been inaugurated by the Department during the year were: Priests' Social Action Schools; the Social Action Series Pamphlets, and the Communism Report.

Four Priests' Social Action Schools were held during the summer in Milwaukee, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Toledo, the purpose being to study the social Encyclicals, to investigate the facts of industrial and labor conditions, and to review the principles and methods of priests' participation in economic questions.

"The Social Action Department also prepared an outline of topics . . . entitled the Social Action Series. Ten pamphlets have been published thus far and some 80,000 of them have been distributed. Sixteen others are being planned for this year.

The department also prepared a comprehensive report on Communism, Socialism, Public Ownership and "Radical" organizations in the United States. It promoted observance of the anniversaries of the great Labor Encyclicals.

The two-day meetings of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems have been continued with great success, the report says. Conferences were held in Rochester, Fresno, Des Moines, Denver, Brooklyn, and a one-day meeting on the Negro in Industry at Cincinnati.

Program urged at National Catholic Rural Life Conference Annual Convention, Richmond, Va.

In the course of the convention, the Most Rev. Aloisius J. Muench, Bishop of Fargo, delivered an address on "Religion and Rural Welfare." The Bishop offered a program as follows:

(1) Social justice is not just an urban or industrial need. Its principles need to be applied also to agriculture and rural maladjustments.

(2) European countries must be studied for tenancy evils.

(3) Safeguard the farmers' interests in the sale of property so that the acquisition of private property is possible.

(4) Social justice will not remain a nebulous thing if cooperatives are established.

(5) The principles of social justice, effective tenancy legislation, etc., must have their first point in the farm home. The farmstead as a homestead must be cherished as the priceless social institute in the land.

In offering the economic argument or guarantee of liberty, Monsignor Sheen likened the freedom to own private property to the external act of sacrifice, or the external satisfaction of our spiritual entity. "We need a symbol in the natural order as a proof or as an example of our responsibility, namely private property, and particularly the land," he said.

He further offered three solutions possible today: Possession, which denotes Capitalism; dispossession, denoting Communism, and Distributism, or Catholicism.

In making application of the possibility of the third solution, Monsignor Sheen urged that the National Catholic Rural Life Conference "extend as far as possible private ownership in industry and in the land." "This is the greatest defense of democracy, this wide distribution of property," he said. "Further, urge the farmer to beware of falling into the error of thinking that the primary purpose of farming is profit. Banish the fallacy of the primacy of profit. Instead help him to appreciate the primacy of the spirit,

life, liberty, land, all of which come from God. Hang on to God, to freedom, to individual rights, to the extension of rights. Christ believed and practiced that. He believed in the primacy of the spirit; He kept His soul His own. He kept His property, His Body, in order to give it to us in the Eucharist. Through Him we may enjoy the only true liberty, the liberty to become saints."

SOCIAL SYSTEMS,— YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW, A COMPARATIVE CHART

A very useful comparative chart has been compiled by Rev. Gerald Ellard, S.J., Ph.D., and published by the *Queens Work*. In parallel columns it outlines the principal tenets of the conflicting social philosophies of Rugged Individualism, Communism, Christocracy and Fascism. Fr. Ellard's concise statement of the Christian social philosophy and of its solution of the social problem is as follows:

The Issue

Solution: TO ACCEPT and apply Christ's organic social order, wherein all men, full personality retained, are guaranteed the enjoyment of their rights by mutual recognition of men as children of God.

Basic Formula: "A DISPENSATION to be realized in the fulness of time, to bring all things under the headship of Christ" (Eph. 1/10) "so that He should be all and in all" (Col. 3/11).

Man, Nature and Destiny

A FREE and immortal person, a child of God. In the order of nature, a potential member of Christ. In the order of super-nature, a living member of Christ.

Family

NATURAL and essential basis of all sound social existence, whose integrity is guaranteed by sanctity of religion.

Society

HARMONIOUS and hierarchic functioning of natural and free groupings, whose rights counterbalance their duties.

Education, Press, Radio, etc.

PRIOR natural right of the family in education is to be aided by the State in securing the individual's fullest development of personality.

Property

DISTRIBUTISM: "ALL should be in a position to acquire real property. Right to ownership is inalienable, but use is to be adjusted by civil authority

to meet needs of public good" (Pius XI). Narrow limit of public ownership to prevent economic dictatorship.

State Policies

DIRECTION by whole citizenry, but in graduated hierarchy of natural and corporate groupings.

Abolition of universal military service.

Abolition of compulsory labor; of aerial warfare.

Minimum armament required for strict defense.

State Constitution

GOVERNMENT by free consent of the governed, in such fashion that the State always remains the upholder of the spiritual order, which transcends political and economic spheres. Between the individual and the State stand and function occupational groupings.

Millenium -

A CHRISTIAN life of toil on earth: "Man is born to labor as a bird to fly" (Pius XI). Fruition of God-life in heaven. Hence the appeal to love.

STUDENTS, COMMUNIST PROBLEM IS THEME OF PAX ROMANA SESSIONS

The theme of the seventeenth international Congress of Pax Romana, to be held in Yugoslavia, August 20-28 on the invitation of the Federation of Slovene Catholic Students, will be "The Catholic Student Facing the Communist Problem." The Congress will be divided into two parts—a week of study for the directors of the member federations of Pax Romana, and the Congress Proper. The first of three conferences will deal with the contrast between the doctrinal aspects of Communism and the Catholic social doctrine. Two conferences of a practical order will examine the preparation necessary for the Catholic student for responding to the appeal of the Pope by bringing the multitudes to the feet of Christ.

The week of study will be directed more particularly to the practical aspect, examining the deficiencies in the state of the modern mind, and the dispositions of the souls of students today. Methods will be proposed for securing a better intellectual formation in the liberal arts, especially directed toward the student's apostolate. A questionnaire will be addressed to member federations in preparation for this discussion. It will take in the practical experiences of Catholic students in their apostleship and in their social work, notably in Communist environments either in the university or the laboring world.

The Gap in the Christian Front

A protest against the "recklessness" of some writers in Catholic papers was made in a letter sent to the Catholic Press over many lay signatures including those of Lord Rankeillour, Lord Denbigh, Lord Iddesleigh, several representatives of old Catholic families, and members of Parliament on the eve of the Summer School of the English Catholic Social Guild.

Recalling that the Holy Father and the English Bishops have recently encouraged the discussion of social and economic questions, they contend such discussion should have useful and constructive results. But they "feel it necessary to protest against the recklessness of assertion which often marks it, to the detriment alike of charity and truth."

"No good cause," the writers say, "can gain in the end either by libel, whether of individuals or classes, or by denunciation of admitted evils, without the application of knowledge and patience to the provision of specific remedies."

EXAMPLES ARE GIVEN

The protest gives, as examples of the "statements or unmistakable implications" of which they complain such assertions as: that Catholicism is as much the enemy of "capitalism" (undefined) as of Communism; that "big business" (undefined) is a proximate occasion of sin; that bankers have been the conscious engineers of slumps and that they are the common enemies of society that a secured loan is immoral; that the toiling masses are becoming slaves in all but name.

"The problems of economics and currency," they say, "are infinitely complicated and they can be successfully approached only in a spirit of impartiality and dispassionate enquiry. That evils and abuses exist in the economic sphere, as indeed in others, will hardly be denied; but if reformers are to be listened to, the burden is on them to show that their assertions are accurate and that their remedies are workable and just."

This protest brought many counter-protests from Catholics, among which perhaps the strongest was written by Father Joseph Keating, S.J., in the London *Month*, under the title of "The Gap in the Christian Front," from which the following are pertinent excerpts:

In the preface of "A Code of Social Principles" formulated by the "Catholic International Union of Social Studies" (which was founded in 1920 by Cardinal Mercier at Malines), and

published by the Catholic Social Guild in 1929, we read:

"Far too many Catholic industrialists and men of business remain in a state of bland and bland ignorance as to the very existence of principles that should guide their daily actions and are accustomed to accept unquestioned the very questionable maxims upon which a great deal of modern industry and business is day by day conducted . . . So infected are we by the mammon-worshipping atmosphere by which we are surrounded. So little aware are we of the treasures of Catholic wisdom."

A similar reproach appears in our present Pope's famous Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, the descriptive title of which is "On reconstructing the Social Order and perfecting it in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel," where His Holiness complains that by his predecessor's *Rerum Novarum*,

"Some minds were not a little disturbed, with the result that the noble and exalted teaching of Leo XIII . . . was looked upon with suspicion by some, even among Catholics, and gave offense to others [the reason being] that it boldly attacked and overthrew the idols of Liberalism, swept aside inveterate prejudices and was so far and so unexpectedly in advance of its time that the slow of heart ridiculed the study of the new social philosophy and the timid feared to scale its lofty heights."

And more recently the Pope's great pronouncement against Atheistic Communism reproaches some of those who should be foremost in applying Christian principles to industry, Christian employers and industrialists,

"whose problem [he owns] is often so difficult because you are saddled with the heavy heritage of an unjust economic regime whose ruinous influence has been felt through many generations. We bid you be mindful of your responsibility. It is unfortunately true that the manner of acting in certain Catholic circles has done much to shake the faith of the working classes in the religion of Jesus Christ. These groups have refused to understand that Christian charity demands the recognition of certain rights due to the working man which the Church has explicitly acknowledged." ("Divini Redemptoris" §50 C.T.S.)

Then the Pope denounces those Catholic employers who actually prevented the reading of *Quadragesimo Anno* in their local churches and the Catholic industrialists who still are

hostile to the reforms he has recommended. But what shocks him most is the scandal caused by the frequent abuse of the right of private property to defraud the worker of his wages and social rights.

"There are some [he writes] who, while exteriorly faithful to the practice of their religion, yet in the field of labor and industry, in the professions, trade and public offices permit a deplorable cleavage in their conscience and live a life too little in conformity with the clear principles of justice and Christian charity. Such lives are a scandal to the weak, and to the malicious a pretext to discredit the Church." (Ibid., §55.)

And lest Catholic industrialists and employers and professional men should urge, what the Federation of British Industries urged in 1921, in answer to the demand for a living wage, viz., that "The real and ultimate test of the justice of this proposal must always be what industry can bear," (*) the Pope stresses the duty of forming employers' organizations so as to prevent competition incommensurable with justice to the workers. Few Catholics of position show themselves aware either of the immorality involved in our present economic system, or of the especial obligation of Catholics to counteract it. And as if to illustrate this melancholy fact it happened that, on the very eve of the summer school, a letter appeared in the Catholic Press signed by a number of prominent Catholics, deprecating in careful and moderate language the "recklessness of assertion" which they find in current Catholic discussions of industrial problems. We do not doubt that, in the heroic efforts a few socially-minded Catholics are making, under Papal guidance, to rouse the conscience of the world to the existence of grave evils characteristic of our de-Christianized industrial system, a few unbalanced and unproven statements have been made. It is strange, considering the inveterate and heart-breaking social iniquity that is being exposed, that there are not more. Our point rather is that of these 21 eminent critics of their brethren, only one is known to be actively interested in the Catholic Social Movement: the rest stand complacently aside, as if Pope Leo had not long ago stressed the obligations of their class in the words:

*In other words, it is not the business of "industry" to provide a real livelihood for those engaged in it—a clear denial of the workers' rights to live a human life. It did not seemingly occur to the F. B. I. that there was anything faulty in a system which thus issued in manifest injustice.

"It is certain that the path of [social] improvement is better assured and more quickly traversed the more we have the cooperation of leading men with their wide opportunities of effectual aid. We would have them consider for themselves that *they are not free* to choose whether they will take up the cause of the poor or not: *it is a matter of simple duty*. 'On Christian Democracy'" 1901: Italics ours.)

a clear injunction reiterated by later Popes, notably by his present Holiness in words already quoted. The signatories declare with great justification that "the problems of economics and currency are infinitely complicated and they can only be successfully approached in a spirit of impartiality and dispassionate inquiry." With what greater force would this useful warning have come if only they could have added: "We ourselves have often sought to explain these difficulties to our fellow-members of the Catholic Social Guild, in their study circles and sectional meetings, and we have always made it a point that the workingmen, whose social education we have helped to provide for in the Catholic Workers' College, should be prepared to recognize how far from simple the application of the Christian remedy for the evils of the capitalist system must necessarily be.

Later, in October, officials of the supreme council of England and Wales of the St. Vincent de Paul Society had put before Most Rev. Arthur Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, a social justice program, following a meeting of representatives of Catholic societies which the Archbishop addressed on the subject.

In a letter to the Archbishop, the president, treasurer and secretary of the Society suggest:

"Would it not be possible for their Lordships the Bishops of England and Wales to appoint a small committee to investigate, with expert advice, what exact standard of living should reasonably be expected by the worker and provided by the Catholic employer? Such a committee, acting with the authority delegated by the ruling body of the Catholic Church, might possibly be a court of appeal both for workers and employers."

The letter goes on to suggest that the committee should consist of employers and employed.

Archbishop Hinsley says in his acknowledgment that the practical proposal is for the Board of Bishops to consider.

"But," he goes on, "I accept this suggestion for my own diocese, and I shall invite representative economic

writers, employers and workers or members of trade unions among Catholics, to meet me and discuss the formation of the advisory board proposed."

FATHER WALSH'S LECTURES ON COMMUNISM

The Georgetown Sesquicentennial Lectures, given by the Rev. Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., Vice President of Georgetown University and Regent of the School of Foreign Service, began on Friday, February 18, to end on Friday, April 29.

The series, given under the auspices of the School of Foreign Service, is entitled "Twenty Years After" and traces the rise and development of Communism in Soviet Russia and the beginning and growth of democracy in the United States.

The titles of Dr. Walsh's lectures are as follows:

February 18, "Prelude to Revolution in Russia"; February 25, "Climax of Revolution in Russia"; March 4, "Prelude to Revolution in America"; March 11, "Climax of Revolution in America"; March 18, "Counter-Revolution in Russia"; March 25, "Crisis in the Russian Revolution"; April 1, "Progress of Democracy in America"; April 8, "Decline of Democracy in Russia"; April 12, "The End of Democracy in Russia"; April 29, "The Future of Democracy in America."

In his March 4 lecture, Father Walsh spoke on the recent executions in Russia. Terming the latest trial of former Bolshevik leaders in Moscow "an international show which is a blend of tragedy and comedy," he declared that "the whole melancholy performance demonstrates how deeply Stalin fears revolt among the peasants and in the army, and how ruthlessly he produces scapegoats to divert and assuage their resentment."

"Keep your eyes on Marshal Bluecher in command of Soviet troops in Eastern Siberia," Father Walsh said. "The day he receives his invitation to return to Moscow but refuses to obey, the final explosion will be at hand. Whatever form it takes, the submerged Russian people will have fearful precedent how to deal with their modern Ivan the Terrible. He, in the meantime, must continue along the same path of unrelenting autocracy. A dictatorship achieved by force and maintained by force cannot relinquish force in the face of opposition. Concessions can be fatal in a duel to the death."

Speaking of the Moscow trials, Father Walsh said "comedy abounds in the contradiction of facts themselves,

in the ridiculous assertions of conspiracy levelled at the entire universe, and in the childish repetition of compulsory phrases."

"But," he added, "the appalling tragedy that overshadows the comic scenes is but another proof of the desperation that now rules the Kremlin. The extent and ferocity of the terror may be judged by the frantic efforts of high officials to escape from the barbed-wire enclosure that Soviet Russia has become. Several high officials recently escaped by airplane, and barely reached the Finnish border in time to elude the pursuit planes from Moscow. Soviet representatives abroad are refusing to return for conference, knowing full well the fate of numerous colleagues in the diplomatic corps who had repaired to Moscow for new instructions only to encounter final liquidation. The most significant figure on the prisoner's bench is Jagoda, former head of the Secret Police, who had sent his thousands to death and exile with precisely the same cynicism he is now experiencing."

"'But they have all confessed,' the perplexed world interjects. There again you must shed your western jurisprudence, and face legal facts as they exist in Soviet Russia. Bolshevik law permits pressure, persuasion and torture as an instrument of proletarian justice. No man except the victim and the government knows what goes on in the cells of the G.P.U. That is why Jagoda who used his power too ruthlessly now sits with drawn face and despairing eyes on the prisoners' bench. He knows by personal participation. And he knows that under well-known Soviet statutes, the family, relatives and friends of an accused victim, however innocent he may be, can be submitted to the barbaric cruelty of being held and treated as hostages. No wonder that Krestinsky, former Soviet Ambassador to Germany, first defied the court by protesting his innocence, on Wednesday, but after an overnight session with his jailers broke down, on Thursday, declared himself guilty of everything they alleged."

In a later lecture, Father Walsh added:

"The American people should not be deceived by the latest gesture of Soviet Russia, calling on all governments to unite in defense of international morality. So long as the Soviet government in flagrant violation of the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement of November 1933, continues to house, cherish, and protect the III International and assist in its avowed program of sapping the foundations of all non-Communist states, its present indignation has a hollow ring of insincerity and hypocrisy."



Part IV

Documentation



Christianity Confronts Communism. By Matthew Spinka. Harpers, \$2.

Why is the goal of the Communist party "the total destruction of all organized Christianity and other religions, and the conversion of the entire population to active militant, and consistent atheism?" The answer to this question is one of the very many answers to questions concerning Communism's history, aims, and policies that are given in this clear and authoritative little work. The author is a non-Catholic, a professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary, whose larger work, *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, formed much of the background for this briefer and more popular treatment. Dr. Spinka is one of the few American non-Russian writers who is thoroughly conversant with Russian and other Slavonic historical and religious literature, which enables him to quote both the chapter and verse for most of what he says.

The true character of the Russian revolution, the crisis of the Orthodox Church, the definition and explanation of Communism as a world philosophy, the grounds for its rejection of Christianity, the analysis of its governing ideas; the Christian answer are leading topics. In the last mentioned discussion, the author quotes from Pope Pius XI in support of reconstructing the social order and from the writings of the modern philosopher, Christopher Dawson.

Collectivism, a False Utopia. By W. H. Chamberlin. Macmillan. 1937.

Mr. Chamberlin's writings on Russia are well known and widely appreciated. The present volume is a detailed and trenchant analysis of economic and social conditions in Russia, Germany, and Italy. Mr. Chamberlin is far from defending unrestricted *laissez-faire* capitalism. But he contends that the capitalistic system is fundamentally sound. He stresses the need of social reforms to end abuses and maladjustments in capitalism. But he asserts, and proves with a mass of evidence, that collectivism has deprived the masses of fundamental liberties, without introducing true social security and peace.—L. K. P., S.J.

Dictators and Democracies. By C. B. Hoover. Macmillan. 1937.

The author of *Germany Enters the Third Reich* has written a brief and stimulating little book on the totalitarian state. Some may consider his criticism of Italian Fascism too severe. Dr. Hoover, however, has gathered many facts concerning Russian Communism which he presents in a brief and very lucid form.—L. K. P., S.J.

Queen's Work Pamphlet

"I Saw the Soviet"—Russia, 1937. An interview with Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., by Daniel Lord, S.J. (Pamphlet published by *The Queen's Work*). Father Lord and Father Siedenburg collaborate in a brilliant and up-to-date account of contemporary Russia, based on Father Siedenburg's visit to Russia last summer. The price is 5 cents.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

In "How Not to Fight Communism," S. J. Rueve, S.J., in the *Catholic World*, November, 1937, points out certain pitfalls into which Catholics often fall in combating Communism. This article is most stimulating.

In "Terrorism in the U. S. S. R.," Waldemar Gurian, in the *Dublin Review*, October, 1937, discusses the recent purges by Stalin with great acuteness. He reviews several theories, and leans to the explanation that Stalin is the Russian "Bonaparte."

In "Le Complot Russo-Sovietique," J. Bardoux, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1, 1937, exposes the activities of the Komintern in Spain and France. M. Bardoux asserts, and cites a mass of documentary evidence to prove his thesis, that plans were prepared to bolshevize Spain in 1936. This article is of vital moment in regard to this point. The author proves that Franco saved Spain from a Soviet dictatorship.

"Balticus" contributed to *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1937, an informative and balanced article entitled, "The Russian Mystery. Behind the Tukhachevsky Plot." The author concludes: "Tukhachevsky thought he could make himself the Bonaparte of the revolution. He met a dictatorial will more ruthless than his own."

Marjorie Stratford Mendenhall. "The Rise of Southern Tenancy," in the *Yale Review*, Autumn, 1937. An informative article on one of our most vexing social problems.

An anonymous writer in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June, 1937, discussed the quasi-secret Trotzkyite organization. It is active in many countries. The Spanish P. O. U. M. was powerful in Catalonia before the liquidation of Nin. It is allied with the Anarchistic C. N. T. In Belgium, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and other nations Trotzkyites are active.

The membership of the Fourth International is estimated at 75,000. Of these 14,000 are in the United States, and 20,000 in France.

The author declares that the Fourth International in Spain (P. O. U. M.) was largely responsible for the anti-religious outrages. Stalin is a "Traitor," a "Bonaparte" to the Trotzkyites. The "Common Front" with bourgeois parties is a "fraud" in their eyes.—L. K. P., S.J.

The Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., associate editor of *America*, asserts in the March, 1938, issue of the *Inter-racial Review*:

"Manfully carried out, the Catholic interracial program will be a powerful agent for the establishment of Christian Democracy in the world today, and Christian Democracy will ensure interracial justice.

"As in the nineties the misuse of 'democracy' by the Socialists did not deter Pope Leo from sanctioning the term, so in our own day its still more flagrant misuse by Communists need not deter us from its usage. While many are now taken in by the absurd claims to 'democracy'

of parties and governments whose only aim is tyranny, these dupes will awake one day to the bitter truth, and wonder how they could have ever identified 'democracy' with Communism in Russia or Spain.

"Since his immediate purpose was to find a proper title for certain Catholic social movements of the times, Leo XIII uses Christian Democracy as a name for Catholic social action—in his words 'beneficent Christian action on behalf of the people.' Accordingly we may also use the term to signify the goal of that action, 'the form and character' of a society which Catholic social action should strive to create. Such a society will be a Christian Democracy, or a 'Christianly' democratic society.

"Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times and in all places.

"As the goal of that program, we can therefore define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct.

"Christian Democracy is for a people—in the full sense of the word—as against a proletarian society of nothing but landless wage-earners; for interracial justice; for industrial and economic justice; for widely distributed property as opposed to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, as well as to expropriation and absorption of property by a centralized government; for cooperation as opposed to regimentation; for law as opposed to rule by physical force and political expediency; for liberty as opposed to license; for properly constituted legal authority as opposed to mob rule and dictatorship; for action that builds and unites as opposed to class warfare that destroys.

"As a basis for all this, it is for the human person as a child of God, a brother of Jesus Christ, and a temple of the Holy Ghost. It is for society as God as planned it and man needs it."

ANTI-GOD EXHIBIT BARES PROPAGANDA FROM MANY LANDS

The outstanding feature of the Catholic Press Exhibit held in New York in February was the Trinity League's Anti-God Exhibit of more than 2,500 blasphemous books, newspapers, magazines, handbills, and other propaganda material from the United States, Soviet Russia, Germany, Spain, and Mexico.

This was the first public showing of the Anti-God Exhibit, which the Trinity League, a Catholic Pro Deo organization fighting Communism, Fascism, and atheism, has taken three years to collect. The exhibit will be taken on a nation-wide tour of colleges and conventions.

The Anti-God collection also contained perhaps the most complete collection of Spanish Leftist propaganda in the United States.

One whole section is devoted to examples of propaganda material issued by the Spanish Embassy. Handouts or press releases, brochures, pamphlets, posters, and similar propaganda material from the radical-controlled North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and a number of its affiliates—all directed by radicals—also are shown.

Bibliography of Social Questions

There are more than 350 items in the mimeographed bibliography of Catholic books, pamphlets and magazines on economic questions just issued by the Social Action

Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Included are many recent pamphlets on current issues and facts, textbooks, graduate theses, and special studies. Inclusion of material does not necessarily imply approval or recommendation of the Social Action Department. The list was prepared solely to facilitate acquaintance with some of what has been and is being written by Catholics in the social field. The addresses of several French publishing house are included, as well as publications of English and Irish firms.

Paulist Press Pamphlets on Communism. (Price 5 cents)

By Father Raymond Feely, S.J.

Communism and Union Labor.

Just What Is Communism?

Communism and Morals.

Fascism, Communism, The U. S. A.

By Monsignor Fulton Sheen, Ph.D.

Communism Answers Questions of a Communist.

Tactics of Communism.

Liberty Under Communism.

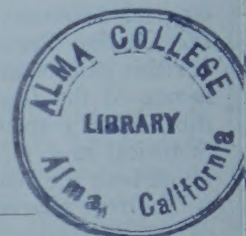
Communism and Religion.

By Father Fabian Flynn, C.P.

A Catechism of Communism.

By Arnold Lunn.

Spain and the Christian Front.



EDITORIAL NOTE

Due to unfortunate circumstances, this is only the second issue of *Informationes et Notitiae* to appear this current year. It is planned, however, to issue numbers each month hereafter until and including June.

THE SOVIET IN THE EASTERN WAR

Red Star Over China, by Edgar Snow, published by Random House (price, \$5.00), is an indispensable work for any student who wishes to understand the role that Communism is playing in the Chinese-Japanese struggle. Edgar Snow is the Far East correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, the Labor paper in England. He is of definitely Marxist sympathies. He is hailed as the only foreigner who penetrated deep into Northwest China, to make a personal study of the remarkable Red Army that now lies on the right flank of the invading Japanese forces. The book tells the story of the 6,000-mile "Long March" of the Red Napoleon, Chu Teh, from Southwest China to its present location. Mr. Snow was with the Red Army shortly after the spectacular "kidnapping" of Chiang Kai-shek, and reveals the truth of that incident, and of the consequences which it had in forming a united front between the erstwhile enemies. While due allowance must be made for the lurid journalistic style, and for the author's evident sympathies with the group he describes, nevertheless this work must be accepted as authoritative and indispensable for students of the workings of Communism in the world.